The CRISIS

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One Way To End Discrimination

VERN AND BONNIE BULLOUGH

NAACP Stand On Colonialism And U. S. Foreign Policy

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Vol. 62, No. 1 **Whole Number 519**

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.* THE CRISIS *is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 20 West 40th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y. Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscription* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July* 22, 1949, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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Hammond & Irwin

IN A MOVE *to increase opportunities for Negroes in the Jefferson City, Mo., area the local NAACP branch has invested $100, at 4 percent interest, in a building fund conducted by chamber of commerce officials. Goal of the fund is $200,000. Mrs. Gwendolyn Newirk (left), president, and Charles Robinson, treasurer, turn over a check for $100 to the McGraw Building Fund to O. W. Raithel, Jr.*

■ The Delaware experience in desegregating schools, experiences which might be of value to other NAACP branches

Working With School Boards to Implement Desegregation

By Wagner D. Jackson

MY REMARKS, and any conclusions I may make, are, principally, the result of my own personal experience and are, generally, practical in character. While I realize no two situations are precisely alike, certain considerations in working with school boards have seemed basic. It is these which I shall discuss.

Before we begin to discuss "methods" of working with school boards, it seems to me some discussion of preparation is in order. These observations I would place under the heading of *"Information, Approach, and Personalities."*

WAGNER D. JACKSON, *president of the Wilmington, Delaware, branch of the NAACP, read this paper at the panel on "Working and Dealing With School Boards" at the Philadelphia Emergency Conference to Consider Problems Arising Out of School Integration," November 26-27.*

We must, first, be informed—know the facts; and few, if any of us, know all of them even about our own local situations. We must, for example, know something about the school personnel with whom we are dealing. Some information is usually supplied by the state, in the form of an *Educational Directory*. It lists names and offices of state and local boards of education and trustee boards; the number and kinds of schools under their jurisdiction; the staffs of these schools; and their cirriculum. *You need an Educational Directory*.

We must also be more than passingly familiar with school law, for we are dealing with persons whose responsibility it is to know the law. We need to know, for example, where lines of authority are drawn-to minimize "buck passing": We need to know how school districts are determined, so we will also know

how they may be changed; we need to know how boards of education are formed, so we will know how these, too, may be changed, if necessary; we need to know how schools are financed; we need to know how attendance is regulated; we need to know how transportation is provided; we need to know teacher qualifications and job safeguards; we need basic knowledge of school law. Most states provide this information, free of charge, in composite form. *You need a copy of your School Laws.*

Then, we need to know what our local school-connected organizations (such as teacher's groups and PTA's) have said or done about integration; and what other civic, labor, or religious groups have said or done. We ought to read their publications and keep a file of newspaper and magazine articles.

We need, also, to know what has happened in other communities where integration has been effected —and how it was effected. There is now available a substantial and growing number of books, pamphlets, reports, and theses on the subject of racial integration in public education; and it is, of course, impossible for us to read and digest all of them. But if I were to make a single choice of all I have seen, the decision would not be difficult. They would be the *Journal of Social Issues,* the article entitled "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," compiled by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark; and *Schools in Transition* (University of North Carolina Press). No one who deals with school boards on this matter should be without these titles.

KNOW NAACP PROGRAM

And, finally, we need to know, in detail, our own NAACP program for integration. We need to know what we want.

All of this, obviously, involves work; and all of it should, ideally, be done before the first contact is made with a school board. And, I might add, that in all subsequent conferences, we need to let them know that we know these things—you may be assured they will soon make it their business to find out.

But, even with this kind of preparation, there is no substitute for experience. You learn best how to deal with school boards by dealing with school boards.

In this business, however, adequate preparation is most essential because our errors in judgment may result in conditions which may take months of time and expensive litigation to correct. And, most tragically, our children may continue being denied their constitutional heritage through our own ignorance. We must not let that happen.

The proper approach is likewise important. By "approach" I mean the system you devise for dividing responsibility among branches to insure coverage of every major school district in the state. In our state (Delaware) which has only three counties and four NAACP branches, this was not difficult. The two county branches were responsible for all of their respective counties; the city branch at Newark was responsible for working with its own city school board; while the Wilmington branch was responsible for the remainder of the county, as well as its city board.

In addition, it was our responsibility to work directly with the state Board of Education, which has final jurisdiction over all schools.

In approaching this problem, the important considerations seemed those of (a) being certain every major school district was reached, and (b) fixing the responsibility for doing so.

MATTER OF RESPONSIBILITY

With regard to this matter of responsibility, we would make two suggestions. One, which other branches might find helpful; the other, a recommendation to our national office. We felt that in addition to our local counsel, there ought to be some lay person, or persons, who would closely watch the total picture; — who would know as much as possible about what was being done in each community, and how; and who would make this information available to any branch which might find it useful. This persons should be called "state coordinator for legal defense." Some member, or members, of a state legal redress committee, where one exists, might serve in a similar capacity. Such a person may perform an important function by explaining successful techniques used in other parts of the state.

There should also be some member of our national staff who would be fully and regularly informed of all negotiations with school boards within a given area—a state, for example. If then, it ever became necessary for a branch official to call our national legal staff for immediate advice, it would be possible for him to present his problem to someone who already had at least a general knowledge of the situation, of who had that background information available.

We, in Delaware, were, indeed, fortunate to have had such assistance in the person of June Shagaloff, a field secretary for our Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Her knowledge of some of our local problems is more detailed than my own; and without her wide experience and wise counsel we would, on many occasions, have wasted valuable time or risked making serious mistakes. Recent additions to our national staff will, undoubtedly, make this kind of invaluable assistance available to other areas.

SELECTING PERSONNEL

Our suggestions about "personalities" would be these: The kind of persons you elect or appoint as chairmen of education committees or to head NAACP delegations to school boards is the utmost importance.

There should be, for example, absolutely no question as to their sincerity. The placement—for any reason—of what sociologists call an "accommodating" Negro (whom we know, or even suspect as being, an "Uncle Tom") in such a position of responsibility is virtually inexcusable. There can be no compromise, whatsoever, with the principle that racial segregration and discrimination in public education is subversive, immoral, and illegal; that the time for its complete elimination is long overdue; and that we will never accept anything less.

It helps, also, if your branch has a history of meaning business about this matter of eliminating racial segregation and discrimination. Our

prosecution of a suit which, in 1950, resulted in the removal of racial restrictions at our State University, and another, begun one year later, involving elementary and high schools, which we carried through our state courts and, eventually, to the U. S. Supreme Court, provided us with such a record. Since that time we have not been too concerned about the necessity for impressing anyone in Delaware as to our sincerity.

Our representatives to school boards should also be reasonably free from the possibility of economic retaliation.

As a general rule, we believe it unwise to place such responsibility on teachers or other school personnel. This is not to indicate that, because of their personal involvement, they cannot do an effective job or that we cannot trust them. It is always wise to avoid, wherever possible, unnecessary difficulties.

(There are, of course, exceptions to the rule. The most effective chairman of our own branch education committee is, also a junior high school principal. I would add, however, that his professional qualifications are such that he has no fears about getting or holding a job anywhere; and he, publicly and privately, displays an attitude of being ready to move, if necessary.)

Teachers can and should be encouraged to provide valuable assistance as advisors to our representatives. We need the kind of specialized information they can provide, and, I might add, in may instances, they need the kind of protection which only the NAACP give them.

Our representatives to school boards should be emotionally stable. We can never permit ourselves to become so upset as to affect our ability to reason—no matter what the provocation. I do not pretend that this will not sometimes be difficult, but, whenever I detect a tendency toward anger, I think of the many, many persons who have devoted a lifetime of effort toward getting us to the point where we now stand. We must not let our frailty delay, for one day, the realization of their dreams. The calm, quiet statement and restatement of our position is far more effective than emotional ultibatums. You can be firm without being unpleasant; and you can be optimistic without being gullible.

INTERPRETATION OF METHOD

Thus, we come to "methods" of working with school boards to effect integration. While some of my previous remarks and observations may well be construed to be "method," my interpretation of the term, here, is, primarily, one of mechanics. The method recommended by our national office, following discussion at Atlanta and Dallas, is that of submission of petitions, followed by conferences, and concluded, where necessary, by legal action. This method has proved sound. If, however, you have good reason to believe that a school board will not respond favorably to your request for a conference, which every petition should include, it may be wise to send them, first, a letter clearly stating your position, and making some positive suggestions regarding implementation, an offering your assistance, provided they act in good faith. If you, then, send a petition, to which there is no favorable response, the school board

cannot later plead ignorance of your attitude as a reason for inaction.

All petitions to school boards, and other important correspondence, should be sent by registered mail requesting a return receipt.

We feel a ten-day period, following a meeting of the school board, to be a reasonable length of time to allow for a response. Failure to receive one within that time would suggest another letter reiterating the request for a conference.

Responses to petitions may vary from agreement to a meeting, and suggesting a date, to expressions of intent to do nothing until ordered.

We believe that small branch delegations to follow-up conferences with school boards are, usually, most effective. We would suggest three persons possessing the qualifications we have mentioned. If, however, the conference is held during a regular session of the board as many other persons as are interested should attend as observers.

Such conferences should, at all times, be maintained on a business level. Any attempts to make them personal, familiar, or social in character should be firmly resisted. We would make these further suggestions regarding follow-up conferences: You must be prepared to make concrete suggestions as to how integration can be accomplished in an equitable manner and with a minimum of delay and friction; but you should remember, at the same time, that this is, primarily, the responsibility of the school board. It is they who have been maintaining segregated schools —not us; and it is they who must now abolish them. Ask first to see their plans, if any; after you have had ample time to study them, then make your suggestions.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCES

Preliminary conferences should be for the sole purpose of exchanging ideas and information. No committments of any sort should be made, unless it be one of willingness to cooperate in good faith.

Get written confirmation of all proposals, and take detailed notes of everything that happens. If minutes of the meeting are taken, see to it that you get a copy.

And remember, school boards are composed of individuals like ourselves—with similar fears, prejudices, and limitations of knowledge and experience. We should make a sincere effort to try to understand why they may feel differently about this matter than we; and tell them, by citing factual experience in other areas, and show them, by our own example, that their opposition or reticence is groundless. We should never forget, however, that this educational process, this stimulation to intellectual and psychological growth, is, at the moment, clearly secondary to the basic issue—which is, as far as we are concerned; whether or not they are going to obey the law. If they are, we want to know how and when; if they are not, we want to know why.

LEGAL ACTION

While we have not yet taken any legal action as a consequence of failure on the part of school boards to desegregate, we would assure you, as we have them, that such action will be taken, just as soon as it is

(*Continued on page* 59)

Scott Henderson

LESTER BANKS *(left) of the Virginia conference receives a life membership from Conrad Martin, grand treasurer of the M. W. Grand Lodge of Masons, A. F. & M. of Virginia, on behalf of his lodge at annual state meeting of the NAACP held in Martinsville October 8-10, 1954.*

■ A brief sketch of how the Gold Coasters achieved their independence

A Review of the Gold Coast – Final Stage to Independence

By George Padmore

ON March 12, 1954, three years after the inauguration of the present Constitution under which the Gold Coast has been governed since 1951, the Legislative Assembly adjourned *sine die*. This marks the end of one transitional stage and the beginning of the final stage to freedom as "a sovereign and independent state within the Commonwealth."

In bidding au revoir, if not farewell to the retiring deputies, the Speaker, Sir Charles Emmanuel Quist, the distinguished African Elder Statesman, paid a fitting tribute to the Government.

We have obtained in the Assembly, a Prime Minister in the person of Dr. Kewame Nkrumah, a capable, energetic, sincere, and genuine statesman, who with his Cabinet containing a majority of Africans, has been mainly responsible for the progress to which I have alluded. Laws have been passed establishing Local Councils and placing local government on a firm basis. Social legislation has been introduced in many forms to safeguard the well-being and prosperity of the country and education has been expanded widely. Economically, we are solvent and our last budget showed a surplus of 16 million pounds. These are achievements of which we can rightly feel proud and which should encourage us to approach and face the future with confidence.

What is this future? But first a few words about the origin of the present Constitution.

As a consequence of widespread

GEORGE PADMORE, *a long-time Crisis contributor, is one of the world's leading experts on colonial Africa. His latest book is "The Gold Coast Revolution" (1953). He has also written "Africa and World Peace" (1937), "Africa: Britain's Third Empire" (1949), "Colonial and Colored Unity" (1945), and many other books and pamphlets.*

riots arising from the shooting of unarmed ex-service men during a peaceful demonstration in Accra in 1948, the then Labor Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry consisting of three distinguished non-politicians, Mr. Aiken Watson, Q.C., as chairman, Professor Keith Murray of Oxford and Mr. Andrew Dalgleish, the well-known authority on trade unionism. They recommended the scrapping of the existing Burns Constitution as being undemocratic and outmoded, although it had been introduced only two years previously by the first Labor Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. Creech Jones, and proclaimed in Fabian circles as the most advanced constitution in the Colonial Empire.

The Commissioners also advised the British Government to appoint an all-African Constitutional Committee to draft a new Constitution under which the Gold Coast should be governed. Despite the reluctance of the Colonial Office to agree to this—for it was a revolutionary proposal—the Secretary of State for Colonies instructed the then Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy, to proceed.

The Governor then packed the Committee with all kinds of reactionary middle-class lawyers, businessmen and chiefs under the chairmanship of an African High Court Judge, Sir J. Henley Coussey. Not one representative of the trade unions, farmers, and other sections of the common people was included.

In August, 1949, the Coussey Committee issued its report and after it was voted by Mr. Creech Jones' principal adviser in the Colonial Office, Mr. Andrew Cohen, now Sir Andrew Cohen, Governor of Uganda, the new instrument was debated in the Legislative Council and promulgated by the Governor in 1950.

The Constitution fell short of the demands of the common people, and the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) (organized in June, 1949 to lead the struggle for "self-government now") launched a campaign of non-violent, non-cooperation. Shortly after Dr. Nkrumah, the chairman of the C.P.P. launched his Positive Action, he and several other leading members of the party were arrested on various trumped-up charges and imprisoned.

GENERAL ELECTION

But while they were still in jail, the Governor in agreement with the moderate political leaders and the chiefs, decided to hold the first general election. Although Dr. Nkrumah had described the Constitution as "bogus and fraudulent," he advised his supporters to contest the election so as to capture as many seats as possible. In doing so, they were motivated by the idea of preventing the leaders of the reactionary and conservative parties who had helped to frame the Constitution from getting hold of the Government and working the Constitution in the way the British Government intended.

The C.P.P.'s overwhelming victory in February, 1951, spoilt all the plans and calculations of the Colonial Office and forced a retreat. So much so that the present Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, was compelled to immediately free Dr. Nkrumah and his colleagues and call upon the C.P.P. leader to form the Executive Council, the main instrument of Government.

MIXED-BAG ASSEMBLY

The Coussey Constitution was so framed as to establish a mixed-bag Legislative Assembly. It consisted of 84 members of which 75 were elected, 3 ex-officio, and 6 members representing foreign interests (commerce and mining).

The ex-officio members—the chief government secretary, the financial secretary and the attorney general, as well as the foreign capitalist representatives—were all appointed by the Governor. The others were selected in the following manner: Five municipal members were elected in a single-stage election by universal adult suffrage; 33 rural members were elected in a two state election by adult suffrage exercised through electoral colleges; 19 members from the Northern Territories were elected by a special electoral college composed of chieftain nominees; 18 members by the Territorial Councils of Chiefs representing the Colony area, Ashanti and South Togoland, under United Nations Trusteeship exercised by the United Kingdom Government.

The Speaker was elected by all members of the Assembly from among themselves or from outside the Assembly. The present Speaker was not a member of the Assembly at the time of his election, but was the president of the former Legislative Council. He was elected by unanimous vote.

The Executive Council, now called the Cabinet, consisted of 11 members. Eight of them are Africans, holding portfolios of Commerce and Industry; Labor, Mines and Co-operatives; Agriculture and Natural Resources; Education and Social Welfare; Local Government and Housing; Communications and Works; Health; and Economic Development. The three British Ministers hold the key portolios of Defense and External Affairs and Finance and Justice.

The Constitution as originally framed made no provisions for the premiership. The Colonial Office experts never anticipated that any one party would emerge as the dominant party in the Assembly. The plan was to play one group of leaders off against the others and for the Governor with his officials and chiefs to hand pick the Cabinet and set the pace. Having selected one African to lead the pack, he was to be officially described as "Leader of Government Business."

But Dr. Nkrumah refused to play the game, so Mr. James Griffiths, the Labor Colonial Secretary had to get the Constitution amended to recognize Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister *de jure*, in order to get his co-operation in working the Constitution smoothly. This change was instituted early in 1952.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS

With the initiative firmly in Dr. Nkrumah's hands, backed by an overwhelming majority in both the Assembly and the Cabinet, the Prime Minister immediately set out to introduce long overdue economic and social reforms outlined in the Government's Development Plan. And within the short space of three years, the C.P.P. has been able to bring about the remarkable changes referred to by the Speaker at the closing session of the Assembly. The Gold Coast financial position has

never been sounder and the country is now ready to embark on the final stage to independence.

How has this come about? At every stage of the struggle, Dr. Nkrumah, who never loses personal contact with the masses, has relied upon the support of the common people. He never makes a move before consulting public opinion, which the C.P.P. is constantly educating in the spirit of democratic socialism.

Having demonstrated beyond any doubt that the African, given the opportunity, is capable of governing himself, the Prime Minister announced in the Legislative Assembly in October, 1953, that as a result of an exchange of views with Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, who visited the Gold Coast in the summer of that year, he proposed to present to the British Government a demand for complete self-government.

But before doing so, he invited all members of the Territorial, Municipal and Local Government Councils, political parties, trade union, co-operatives and farmers unions and other public bodies and prominent citizens to submit their views in writing on questions of constitutional reform.

The response was tremendous. Led by the press, the entire country reacted enthusiastically. After all the views and suggestions were submitted and collated, the African members of the Cabinet drafted proposals which were published as an official White Paper setting out in detail the demands of the people for a new Constitution.

The draft document was then presented to the Assembly, and debated. The members then endorsed a motion introduced by the Prime Minister to "authorize the Government to request that Her Majesty's Government, as soon as the necessary constitutional and administrative arrangements for independence are made, should introduce an Act of Independence into the United Kingdom Parliament declaring the Gold Coast a sovereign and independent State within the Commonwealth; and further, that this Assembly do authorize the Government to ask Her Majesty's Government, without prejudice to the above request, to amend as a matter of urgency the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order in Council 1950, in such a way as to provide inter alia that the Legislative Assembly shall be composed of members directly elected by secret ballot, and that all Members of the Cabinet shall be members of the Assembly and directly responsible to it."

While negotiations between the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Colonies were being carried out through the Governor, the Assembly approved plans for dividing the country into 104 constituencies and enacted legislation to deal with other electoral arrangements. So that by the end of the last session of the Assembly in March, the Prime Minister was able to announce that a general election would take place in the summer.

NKRUMAH CONSTITUTION

In accordance with the decision of the Assembly that all members of the new Parliament must be directly elected by secret ballot, chiefs and representatives of foreign commercial and mining interests, as well as British official nominees of the Gov-

ernor were excluded.

The incoming Assembly therefore consists of 104 popularly elected members; in keeping with British parliamentary practice, the leader of the party which wins majority of seats is called upon by the Governor to form the Government.

Furthermore, as the official representative of the Crown, the Governor will no longer preside over Cabinet meetings, and will act only on the advice of his Ministers, who will be collectively responsible to the Assembly. The Governor, however, will continue to exercise control over defense and external affairs until such time as the United Kingdom Parliament passes an Act of Independence conferring full sovereignty upon the Gold Coast. He will be assited in the execution of these functions by a Deputy Governor. On the other hand, the portfolios of justice and finance now held by British officials will be transferred to African ministers.

Apart from selecting his own Cabinet colleagues, the Prime Minister will also have the right to nominate Under-Secretaries who will be attached to each Ministry. They, unlike the Permanent Secretaries, who will continue to be civil servants, will be drawn from the Legislative Assembly.

This, briefly, is the structure of the Nkrumah Constitution under which the first general election was held on June 15. The outcome of this event decided not only the future status of the Gold Coast, but the possibility of peaceful transformation of other African territories from dependencies to self-governing member States within the Commonwealth.

The Gold Coast represents a hope and inspiration to Africans everywhere, but has aroused alarm and despondency in certain imperialist circles in Britain and South Africa.

In a recent interview with the influential American journal, *U. S. News and World Report*, Dr. Malan, the high-priest of racialism, voiced the fears haunting the South African *herrenvolk*. "Democracy is a good thing, but a nation has to be educated up to it," he pontificated. "In the Gold Coast (where Britain has granted self-government) over 90 per cent of the voters are illiterate; they can't read or write. If you give democracy to such people, the result must ultimately be a reversion to barbarism and chaos."

While Dr. Malan preaches hatred and contempt for colored peoples and seeks to extend his domination over Africans by demanding the annexation of the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, his contemporary, Dr. Nkrumah, proclams his faith in the Brotherhood of Man. On his release from prison in 1951, the Gold Coast leader let it be known that he will not tolerate racialism in his country.

"I came out of jail into the Assembly without the slightest feeling of bitterness to Britain. I stand for no racialism, no discrimination against any race or any ndivdual, but I am unalterably opposed to Imperialism in any form."

PLOT MISCARRIED

Despite the fact that within the short period of three years the Gold Coast people have travelled fast and far along the road to complete self-government, the struggle is not yet

over. Final victory has yet to be won.

Already attempts are being made by the forces of conservatism and reaction operating inside and outside the Gold Coast to discredit the Prime Minister and his Government.

Recently, a leading chief by the name of Braimah, who, although not a member of the C.P.P. was included in the Cabinet by Dr. Nkrumah as a gesture of friendship and solidarity with the Chiefs of the Northern Territories who selected Braimah to the Assembly, resigned after having confessed to the Governor of accepting bribes. He then proceeded to accuse the Prime Minister of having received the gift of a Cadillac motor car and 40,000 pounds from a Syrian contractor for a road contract for which the man was only to be paid 10,000 pounds for his services by the Government.

This fantastic allegation was not only repudiated by Dr. Nkrumah, but the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Governor, declared that there was no evidence to support Chief Braimah's allegations. The Prime Minister was completely exonerated by the Commission.

However, even before the findings of the Commission had been made public, the chief, having failed to discredit the Prime Minister, joined forces with other opponents of the C.P.P. to organize a separatist, tribalist organization called the Northern People's Party to break up the unity of the Gold Coast.

The Chief is said to have been encouraged in this "Pakistan" manoeuver by certain British officials serving, in the Norther Territories, where the majority of the natives are Muslims.

THE PARTY SYSTEM

Commenting upon the exploitation of the religious sentiments of the people for political ends, the Prime Minister has stated that "The Party system has come to stay. It is only through the Party System that Parliamentary Democracy can be maintained. But the C.P.P. in accordance with progressive forms of government everywhere is opposed to the formation of political parties on a basis of racialism, tribalism and religion, and will make use of every legitimate means to combat it. In our country, with its tradition of religious tolerance and respect for all faiths, it is highly undesirable that a religious association or denomination should take on itself the character of a political party. If it does so, the public are liable to associate its religious tenets, be they Christian or Muslim, with its political aims and to withhold from such a religious movement the tolerance which is given to purely religious sects."

The election was hard fought. For in addition to the newly formed Northern People's Party with its Islamic appeal, there was the fanatical Muslim Party led by the best known Gold Coast Communist, Mr. Bankole Renner; the United Gold Coast Convention led by Dr. J. B. Danquah, the doyen of African politicians; the Ghana Congress Party led by Dr. A. K. Busia, lecturer in Sociology at the University College; the National Democratic Party led by Barrister Ollennu; the Ghana Nationalist Party, led by Barrister Obetsebi Lamptev; the Ghama Action Party, led by Dr. Ansah Koi, a medical practitioner.

(*Continued on page 59*)

Boags Photo

TESTIMONIAL DINNER—*Marion A. Wright (left), president of the Southern Regional Council, and Judge J. Waties Waring, former federal judge in the Eastern District of South Carolina, at testimonial dinner given Judge Waring in Charleston on November 6, 1954. The dinner paid tribute to Judge Waring for his historic dissenting opinion in the Clarendon county, S. C., school segregation case.*

Harren's Photo

CITY MANAGER *A. E. Sandbury of Lumberton, N. C., delivers official welcome on behalf of Mayor R. A. Hedgepeth, who was sick at the time, at the October session of the eleventh annual North Carolina NAACP conference. Attorney Thurgood Marshall was the principal speaker at the meeting.*

Limited community projects against local racial discrimination can be very effective

One Way to End Discrimination

By Vern and Bonnie Bullough

CHICAGO'S South Side is the home of Bronzeville, an area composed of several all-Negro communities, but the South Side also has many white communities. These communities are really small cities within the larger city of Chicago. Many of the former white communities are now interracial, others are becoming so. Racial tensions have flared up on the South Side at various times in the past, but in recent years adjustments have been made peacefully and quietly. Recent gains for Negroes have ranged from alterations in the hiring policy of some Loop department stores to that of the appearance of Minnie Minoso on the South Side baseball team, the White Sox. Many of the recent concessions have been brought about by the work of various committees and organizations, some of them citywide, others organized in a particular neighborhood to overcome specific discriminatory practices. Perhaps typical of the latter type is one entitled the Committee to End Discrimination at Woodlawn Hospital.

Medical discrimination is widely prevalent in Chicago and it is one of the most harmful types of discrimination. Some citywide agencies have been working recently on this problem and as a part of their activity a bill was introduced in the state legislature which would have withdrawn tax-exemption from non-tax-paying organizations that followed discriminatory policies, but the bill was allowed to die in committee. One of these citywide organizations, composed of a group of doctors and medical personnel of all races, decided that a better way to end medical discrimination was at the community or neighborhood level.

Woodlawn hospital, located on the South Side in the heart of an interracial neighborhood, was picked by this group in an attempt to end discrimination there. Woodlawn was typical of the hospitals of Chicago in that it had a white only policy for admisisons although it did give emer-

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VERN AND BONNIE BULLOUGH *live in Chicago, Illinois. Vern Bullough is treasurer of the Committee to End Discrimination at Woodlawn Hospital.*

gency first-aid treatment to Negroes and then had them transported to another hospital at the patient's expense. In fact, on the whole South Side the number of hospitals which would admit Negroes could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The greater portion of Negroes in Chicago were and are still forced to go to Cook County Hospital on the West Side regardless of their financial condition.

PEOPLE REACTED

To bring the facts of medical discrimination to the attention of citizens of the area served by Woodlawn Hospital, interested doctors called a meeting of civic leaders and other interested persons of three communities: Woodlawn, Hyde Park, and Kenwood. The meeting was held in 1952 in one of the local churches and a capacity crowd attended. Speakers pin-pointed medical practices in the city with special emphasis on Woodlawn Hospital, placing these practices against the background of "progressive" race relations in the three communities. The people in attendance at the meeting decided to act and elected a temporary steering committee and asked for volunteers to serve on the committee. Members of the steering committee met soon after and planned a meeting for all those who indicated that they would be interested in working with them. At this next general meeting, Richard Mandel, a local attorney, was elected chairman. It was then decided that the steering committee should be kept active and that work be done mainly through it with progress reports made to the committee at large, which had now adopted the name of Committee to End Discrimination at Woodlawn Hospital.

The hospital authorities refused to meet with the committee and denied that discrimination existed. After being rebuffed in its attemps to meet with hospital authorities, the committee decided to investigate thoroughly the racial practices of the hospital and to publish a report on it. The investigation took several months and required the interviewing of staff doctors (many of whom were against the hospital's admissions policy), employees, and patients who had been refused service. Several organizations, such as the NAACP, came forth with helpful information also. As the committee investigation progressed the hospital began to have a change of policy. The change first became evident when the hospital hired several Negro cleaning women, the first Negroes they had hired.

The committee's report was ready in March but before being printed copies were sent to the hospital authorities and to staff doctors asking for any corrections in fact. There were none forthcoming. The hospital officials still refused to meet the committee. When further negotiations failed the report was printed (partly on credit) and some 2,000 copies were sent to community leaders, organizations, and individuals in the three areas. Evidently the report was successful. Contributions came into the committee and so did the offerings of volunteer workers. Letters also went to Woodlawn hospital authorities and several church and civic groups asked for speakers from the Committee.

LIMITED MISSION

Soon after the report was issued the hospital began to hire some Negro professional employees and to admit Negro patients. No announcement was ever made of this fact by the hospital. Its policy was quietly changed and interns, residents, and nurses were instructed to admit all patients who had economic means regardless of race or color. That is the situation today. The one area where the committee has failed has been in placing Negro doctors on the staff of the hospital. These appointments are usually made in December and an indirect promise was made by the hospital to consider Negro applicants at that date. The committee will keep functioning until this has been accomplished.

The mission of the Committee to End Discrimination at Woodlawn Hospital was a limited one. It was not an earth-shaking crusade, but rather a skirmish that has proved more or less successful. Community pressure has a remarkable effect. Each discriminating agency does so because it feels it has the Community behind it. When Woodlawn Hospital found that there were many elements in the community against discrimination it altered its policy. Many people who helped the Committee said that they had not realized that Woodlawn Hospital had a policy of discrimination. Others were conscious of the hospital's policies but could do nothing individually. This is the purpose of such a committee. When the community or communities, as in this case, can be roused to the evils within their own system they can remove them quickly and quietly. This then is one way that discrimination can be overcome. Take a limited objective and work at it and the success might help a larger plan, just as the comparative success of the Woodlawn group has helped other Chicago areas to plan similar campaigns on hospitals in their vicinity. Given six or seven more successes of the type of the Woodlawn committee, many other hospitals in Chicago would very likely alter their policies with the result that there would be a great deal less discrimination in Chicago.

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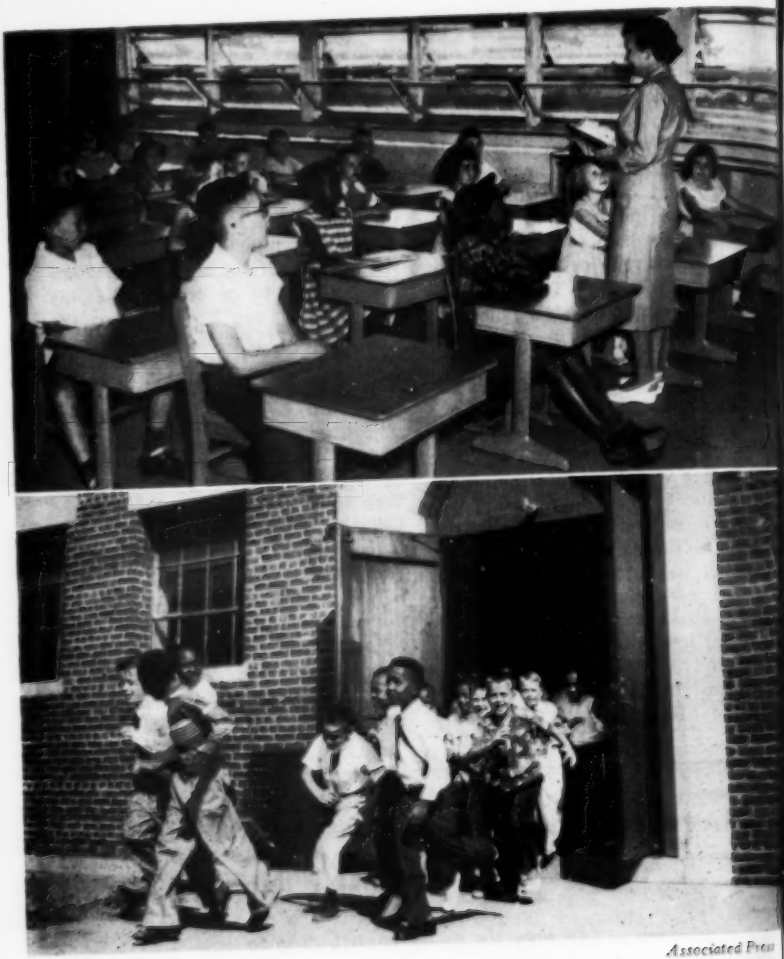

Associated Press

THIS MIXED CLASS *gets along fine at the formerly all-white Fort Meyer elementary school in Virginia under direction of their 3-grade teacher Mrs. Louise Snee. BOTTOM: Negro and white fourth graders at St. Martin School, Washington, D. C., dash for the playground at recess.*

Herewith is the official NAACP position on colonialism and the foreign policy of the United States

NAACP Stand on Colonialism and U. S. Foreign Policy

THE major events in the arena of world politics during the past generation indicate quite clearly that at the center of all other questions is the struggle to end colonialism and to industrialize the so-called "underdeveloped areas." Since the Second World War the phenomenal rise of powerful nationalist movements among colonial peoples indicates that the era of 19th Century Imperialism is now coming to an end.

Recently in the pages of *The Crisis* (October, 1954) there appeared an article by William Worthy which presents a point of view that is held by many in the colonial world who are now, for the first time, realizing a sense of nationhood. While *The Crisis* and the NAACP certainly do not agree with many assertions and beliefs contained in the article by Mr. Worthy, we believed that because of the wide currency of the ideas contained in that article it would be of interest to readers of *The Crisis*. The NAACP, as an organization, has for many years identified itself with those colonial movements that really fight for national freedom and for the right to determine the destiny of their people and not merely to lead them into the orbit of another brand of imperialism.

We have noted with dismay that many "enemies" of colonialism and imperialism who vigorously denounce oppression by the western states become absolutely mute and conscienceless when faced with the crimes of the rival imperialism of the Soviet Union.

The Crisis and the NAACP agree with other critics that American foreign policy on colonialism is not perfect and, at various times, as the official record below will reveal, we have offered criticism and suggestions. We expect to continue in this policy. However, to clear up any misunderstanding which may have arisen in the minds of some of our readers, we dissociate ourselves from any critique based solely upon the contentions of declared Soviet protagonists.

The NAACP policy on foreign affairs is established by the vote of delegates attending the Association's annual convention as representatives

of the membership. This policy is set forth in resolutions adopted by the convention.

Following are excerpts from resolutions on foreign affairs and colonialism passed by NAACP conventions in recent years.

United Nations: The NAACP is in accord with the aims and objectives of the United Nations. It feels the UN is a necessary instrument in efforts to achieve world peace and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, or religion. It specifically urges the prompt ratification of the covenants on human rights. *Los Angeles, July* 1949.

Marshall Plan: The Marshall Plan is a valuable and generous aid to the war-torn areas of Europe. The NAACP ratifies and endorses the position taken by its National Secretary Walter White in testimony before Congress in support of the Marshall Plan and the Association urges that similar aid be extended as needed to peoples in Asia, the Middle East, the Near East, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. The Association further urges that the State Department adopt and pursue the policy of discontinuing aid to countries receiving the Marshall Plan aid when they engage in military action to suppress movements for colonial freedom. *Los Angeles, July* 1949.

Colonialism: Be it resolved that the government of the United States reconsider its policy as stated in the London communique of May 13, 1950, which pledges the support of the U.S. to the continuation of the colonial status quo, and proclaim its support of the legitimate aspirations of colonial peoples for independence or self-government. *Boston, June* 1950.

Point 4: Be it resolved that the government of the United States support a much larger appropriation for technical assistance under the Point 4 Program and for specialized agencies engaged in activities for the benefit of underdeveloped peoples, especially the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. . . .

Be it resolved that the government of the United States develop Point 4 projects in Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt and encourage the expansion of projects in colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the South Pacific that will be primarily for the benefit of the Native peoples, in addition to other areas that are eligible for and in need of such aid. *Boston, June* 1950.

Southeast Asia: Be it resolved that the government of the United States in French Indo-China and elsewhere in South and Southeast Asia give support only to genuine freedom movements which aim to set the people free from domination by America, West European countries or Russia. *Boston, June* 1950.

Point 4: We call on Congress to implement by adequate appropriations President Truman's so-called Point 4 to provide American medical and technical know-how to the people in the industrially backward areas of the world in order to improve their health, increase their productiv-

ity and raise their standard of living. . . .

We warn, however, that investment of private capital in these industrially backward areas as distinguished from the provision of government funds must be subject to careful and effective control by our government and by the governmental body of the industrially backward area in order to prevent imperialist exploitation of the people and their resources for private profit without proper attention to raising their educational, health, and living standards. *Atlanta, June* 1951.

Korean War: Whereas, the armed forces of our country and other members of the United Nations are fighting in Korea to repel aggression and

Whereas, this struggle affirms the policy of collective security against aggression in which all peace-loving nations should treat an attack on any one of them as an attack on all to be resisted by the united strength of all.

Because this policy of collective security against aggression is the best present way to peace, and because our fight in Korea is in line with this policy of collective security, we support the United Nations military action.

Further we warn our branches and youth councils against so-called "peace" organizations that have in the forefront of their program the demand to "bring back our boys from Korea." Such peace organizations are not only urging a policy desired by the Communist bloc of nations, but one likely to cause more and bigger wars throughout the world by making aggression in Korea successful. *Atlanta, June* 1951,

South Africa: Whereas, the Malan doctrine of Apartheid, i.e., government imposed racial segregation, is as dangerous to world peace—if not more so — than Nazism or Dixiecratism:

Resolved, that we call upon our government to use to the fullest extent every facility at its command to oppose the cruel and barbaric white supremacy doctrine of Malan and his government.

We condemn unequivocally the loans which have been made to the Union of South Africa by the International Bank. We urge the United States government, the International Bank, the Import-Export Bank and all private banks to refuse any loans or extend any credit to the Union of South Africa as long as it continues its present policies.

Be it further resolved, that the United Nations should take a more vigorous stand against the cynical annexation of Southwestern Africa by the Union of South Africa and to oppose with equal determination that threat against Basutoland, Swaziland, and other areas contiguous to the Union of South Africa. *Oklahoma City, June* 1952.

North Africa: We express regret at the action of the American delegation to the UN Security Council in failing to support the request made by eleven African and Asiatic nations to discuss the demands of the people of Tunisia for independence, the end of colonial status and greater participation in the affairs of their government.

Whereas, this refusal to even consider the Tunisian matter has raised grave and dangerous questions in many parts of the world with respect

to the position of the United States on colonialism:

Therefore be it resolved, that this convention of the NAACP go on record as urging that neither political opportunism nor economic advantages be permitted again to determine our nation's position on this and similar issues.

We further resolve, that we call upon the United States delegation to give its support to the second request made recently that the Tunisian question be taken up. *Oklahoma City, June* 1952.

Imperialism: Imperialism, the rule of one nation by another, either directly or through a satellite or subservient government, is unjust and a threat to world peace. We welcome the steps toward the end of imperialism taken during the past years by the British government in Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, and the Sudan; by our government in the Philippine Islands; and by the Dutch government in Indonesia. We welcome moves toward self-government in Nigeria and West Africa. We call on the French government to follow that example by helping to set up genuinely free governments in Indo-China, in Tunis, and in Morocco. And we call on our government to urge the French to do so. We call upon our government also to use its best offices to help to end economic imperialims at the Suez Canal and in Iran. *St. Louis, June* 1953.

Foreign Economic Aid: The NAACP endorses the principle of the Mutual Security Administration (formerly the Marshall Plan) and of the Technical Cooperation Administration (formerly Point 4). We urge larger appropriations for economic aid as compared with military aid. Our country cannot hope to remain an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty. It is therefore both sound economics and true humanitarianism to provide generous economic aid for foreign lands, especially their freedom from imperialist rule. *St. Louis, June* 1953.

Peace and Collective Security: To stop war it is necessary to stop aggression. Nations where political democracy exists and where there are rights of free speech, free press, and assembly, the right to the free exercise of religion, and the right to hold elections with a secret ballot after free discussion, and with competing parties, are the ones less likely to be guilty of aggression because in these nations the common man can make his objections to war and war-like policies felt. To stop aggression, therefore, it is vital to have peace-loving nations, especially those where political democracy exists, agree in advance that an attack on one of them shall be resisted by the united strength of all peace-loving nations.

When the nations with which we seek collective action for peace are guilty of imperialism, we call on our government to insist, as far as possible, that our allies and potential allies should grant independence to their colonies, since otherwise their armed forces will be tied up in suppressing colonial revolts and unable to take part effectively in united resistance to aggression. *Dallas, July* 1954.

Good News

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander, visiting dermatologist at Harlem Hospital, New York City, was honored on October 26, 1954, for "twenty-four years of outstanding service to boyhood" at a testimonial dinner in the Tower Club Room of the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City. More than 100 civic leaders and friends attended the event arranged by a committee headed by Hulan Jack, Manhattan Borough President, who also served as toast master.

Dr. Alexander has a long record of service to the Greater New York Councils, Boy Scouts of America, and he has received two major awards for his aid to scouting—the Silver Antelope, highest regional recognition for service, and the Silver Beaver Award.

★ ★ ★

Camilla Williams of Danville, Virginia, has been signed by The Sadler Wells Opera Company of London, England, to make four appearances next March at Bournemouth in "Madame Butterfly." She is said to be the first foreign-born artist to be engaged by the English company. Miss Williams was also the first Negro soprano to appear with a major American company when she made her debut with the New York City Opera Company on May 15, 1946, as Cio-Cio San.

★ ★ ★

Police Captain Harvey H. Alston, 48, of Columbus, Ohio, head of the Juvenile and Missing Persons Bureau since July, 1950, succeeds Inspector Thomas A. Scully, who died in November. Captain Alston's appointment was an automatic one under state law because of his top standing on the civil service list. This promotion makes the new inspector one of the highest ranking Negro police officials in the United States.

★ ★ ★

Robert McFerrin, baritone, is the second Negro assigned to sing leading roles at the Metropolitan Opera Company, New York City. Mr. McFerrin, 32, is a native of Marianna, Arkansas, and a former student of Fisk University and the Chicago Musical College. He has also studied in the opera department of the Berkshire Music Center, Lenox, Massachusetts.

★ ★ ★

Robert Richardson of New York City was elected president of the student council at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, England, in December. He is the first American ever to win the honor.

INDUCTION *of Judge Wade H. McCree, Jr., (right) as a member of the Circuit Bench of Wayne County, Detroit, Michican. The presiding officer is Ira W. Jayne (left), long time a vice-president of the local NAACP. This is the first time a Negro has held a position of judge of a general jurisdiction in Michigan. He was appointed by Governor G. Mennen Williams.*

Looking and Listening . . .

CHAPPIE JAMES

IN the December, 1954, issue of *Argosy* William Ulman writes on Major Daniel C. "Chappie" James Jr. under the title "Chappie James Has Twenty Minutes."

We quote a few paragraphs from the article:

Major Daniel C. "Chappie" James, Jr. was on the phone at Squadron Headquarters. The wooden sign on James' beat-up desk indicated that he was Commander of the 437th Fighter-Interceptor Squadron. A big medium-brown man, Chappie is six feet four and weighs a resilient 220 pounds. His baritone rumbles cheerfully and he grins a lot, though his eyes are serious. He has a right to be serious, because he is solely responsible for eighty officers, four hundred men and twenty-five F-94-C Starfires worth $20,500,000. He also helps protect the industrial heartland of the United States from a sneak attack by the vast new Soviet air armadas.

A World War II fighter-pilot instructor, Chappie James built up his own formidable and distinguished combat record in Korea. He now commands what is probably the only virtually all-white squadron in the Air Force led by a Negro.

Chappie got to this unusual post because, as his wing commander, Colonel Oliver Cellini, says fervently, "He was the best damned jet-fighter commander the Air Force had for the job when the squadron was activated."

* * *

Chappie's self-confidence is not misread by his officers or men. They know he knows his aircraft, his weapons and his men. He is one of the very few men alive who have had a jet explode under him, crashed and not only walked away from it, but helped save his student pilot from swift incineration. He's the kind of Korean combat pilot who flew 105 missions in close support of ground troops, threading through tortuous mountain passes in all kinds of weather and where the antiaircraft fire was most intense—and then volunteered for another fighting tour if they would put him on intercept work where he could fly high and get himself a few MIGs. His Tiger cubs can tell you that he has the D.F.C., seven clusters on his Air Medal, a handful of battle stars and two spearheads for taking part in major invasions. . . .

TROUBLE IN ALGERIA

THE recent outbreaks of violence in Algeria, North Africa, and the ruthlessness of French reprisals have received little publicity in the American press. Algeria, which has an area of 847,552 square miles and population of 9,251,000, was conquered by the French in 1847 and is now a department of Metropolitan France.

As French citizens, Algerians, like Puerto Ricans in the United States, are free to move from Algeria to France. At the present time there are more than 300,000 living in France, with about 100,000 living in the Paris district. They are unskilled workers living under the most sordid

conditions and they furnish an undue proportion of the Parisian criminal element.

In recent years a nationalist movement has sprung up in Algeria under the leadership of Messali Hadj. It is this nationalism that the French are trying to suppress.

In the November 13, 1954, issue of the French liberal newspaper *L'Express* the journal's Algerian correspondent explains the relations of Algerians to France and Frenchmen. *The Crisis* quotes the following relevant passages:

Recent events at Toussaint in Algeria are a threat to French unity. The terrorists are not only accused of crimes of violence, but also of separatism. Algeria is in reality just a "group of French departments." Legally, of course, this can be easily established and documents in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior affirm the annexation of Algerian territory.

Therefore, it follows that if Algeria is an integral part of France there can, logically, be no Algerian nationalists. Hence, Algerian nationalists, whether violent or otherwise, who refuse integration into the French community, are *ipso facto* traitors. People do not negotiate with traitors. They make war on them. This is French logic.

One may convince himself that while in Algeria he is actually in France, but this does not make the Algerians regard themselves as French. Juridically, of course, they are French, but this legal tie is a formal one and although the masses of Algerian Muslems may be aware of the advantages offered by their adopted country, a large segment of the elite at the moment doubts it.

Paved highways, cities, schools, hospitals, and improvement of the arid soil are all proof of French melioration. Yet a country is not a nation, since a nation is a community whose members have expressed a desire for a life in common.

Does this desire exist now a hundred and eighty years after the conquest? There is still no real integration of the European and Muslem peoples in Algeria; and a real French community in Algeria is a thing of the future. Under the best of circumstances everybody remains himself—Frenchman or Muslem. In Metropolitan France the French act as if their own democratic institutions obtained in Algeria. While the French in Algeria act as if time came to a halt in 1830, as if there were no United Nations, no American anti-colonialism, no Soviet dictatorship, nor the awakening of the 350 Muslems throughout the world—in a word, as if none of these things affected their problems at all. The Muslems act, of course, as if they accepted this reactionary view. And then there are crises and injustice. The truth will out.

When we proclaim that Algeria is France, are we talking about a goal, a wish, or a reality?

The truth is that the first French colonizers in Algeria had no desire to build a Franco-Muslem community. They were bold pioneers, French patriots and business men with a certain contempt for the natives. Actually racism and colonization are inseparable and the latter gives respectability to the former. Colonialism soothes the racialist conscience. And the coloniser must of necessity believe in the inferiority of the colonized.

Until 1943 Algeria was a paradise for racism. The zest for life on the beaches, celebrated since Camus, was menaced by the hate which separated the different segments of the population. Frenchmen, Arabs, Jews, Mozabites, Italians, Spaniards, and Maltese formed juxtaposed but closed and mutually distrustful societies. Algeria is the only French province which applied, in 1941, a *numerus clausus*

(*Continued on page* 60)

Scott Henderson

PANEL MEMBERS *who discussed "How Can the Church Meet the Challenge of Integration?" at the 19th annual Virginia state conference of the NAACP held in Martinsville, October 8-10, 1954. From left, Rev. Emerson Smith, Richmond; Rev. W. J. Hodge, Lynchburg; Father Albert Campbell, Martinsville; Dr. W. L. Ransome, Richmond; Rev. Turner Morris, Martinsville; Rev. Carroll Brooke, Staunton; Rev. Walter Anderson, Danville; Dr. John Henderson, Norfolk; and Rev. W. J. Baird, South Boston. BOTTOM: Delegates who attended the annual meeting of the Arkansas state conference of NAACP branches at Little Rock, October 22-24, 1954.*

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Editorials

FACING 1955

THE year that has closed will long remain a memorable one for Negro Americans. It was on May 17, 1954, that the United States Supreme Court handed down its now historic decision declaring that racial segregation in American public schools is unconstitutional. With this decision the "separate but equal" doctrine joined the tallow candle and the horse car.

The courage that comes of this decision has roused in Americans of good will new reserves of energy to carry on the struggle for social justice in the United States. It has made even the pessimists realize that our society is fluid and that far-reaching changes in our racial patterns can be effected in many instances within the matter of months instead of years.

EVEN the controversy that centers around what the Deep South is going to do about desegregation in its public schools is having some unexpectedly beneficial results. Southerners themselves, for one thing, are publicly debating the issues with a realism that would have been unthinkable a decade ago. However, to hope for complete Southern acceptance of the current desegregation trend is as foolish as to resign ourselves to their course in despair.

DUTCH ANTILLES

DUTCH Antillians and Surinames felt a thrill of pride when the Netherlands gave self-rule to their former colonies of the Dutch Antilles and Surinam on December 15, 1954. Some of their emotions were shared by *The Crisis* and the NAACP who have long argued that no people should be held in political bondage by another against their will. Colonies today are anachronisms and we rejoice whenever one becomes a self-governing unit in the family of nations. *The Crisis* wishes the Dutch Antillians and Surinames success.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS was a man with a conscience who could be depended upon to defend an unpopular cause or a persecuted minority, whether racial, religious or political. It was said that Mr. Hays led a double professional life, making millions representing Wall Street brokers and bankers while giving his services free to victims of unjust and respressive laws.

As the forensic champion of civil rights, he was second only to the late Clarence Darrow. *Crisis* readers will remember his role in the defense

of the Sweets in Detroit in 1925 and of his work on the Scottsboro case before the Labor Defense hogged the scene.

Mr. Hays had the courage to live in a mental climate which most of us find intolerable—a firm belief in civil rights for all. He defended stock brokers against the "inquisition" of the Securities and Exchange Commission with the same zeal with which he protested against the prosecution of members of the German-American Bund, although they were Nazi sympathizers. He argued just as fervently for Mr. Scopes right (in Tennessee in 1925) to teach evolution as he did for Mr. Mencken's right to sell *The American Mercury* in Boston, Massachusetts, (in 1926) with its frank biography of a smalltown prostitute.

When this man died at the age of 73 in New York City on December 14, 1954, minorities and dissenters lost a friend.

MORE APARTHEID

NO more unhappy confirmation of the intense racism which now grips South Africa could be found than the recent choosing of Johannes Gerhardus Strydom (in December) as a successor to retiring prime minister Dr. François Malan. Mr. Strydom is a much more fanatical white supremacist than Dr. Malan or Mr. N. C. Havenga, who had been selected by Dr. Malan as his successor.

One of Mr. Strydom's first announcements was that he would push for immediate and complete implementation of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* or *apartness* is a more rabid South African version of American jim-crowism based on the theory that every individual or group has a right to develop his or its innate capacities to the full. But the catch is that groups must develop along their own lines and in their own areas. In practice it would mean complete territorial separation of whites and non-whites in South Africa. And also in practice, with the continuing industrial development of South Africa and the urbanization of non-whites, any such territorial separation is impossible.

What the Nationalists and Mr. Strydom want is maintenance of white supremacy with non-whites kept in the role of Helots to do all the dirty, low-paid work. A former director of the South African State Information office once put the matter bluntly:

> We Nationalists believe that we must maintain White supremacy for all time. A policy of partnership must lead to Black domination. . . . We want the Bantu people back in the reserves. . . . We cannot have independent Bantu States to threaten White South Africa. . . .

South Africans will not have many more chances to set their racial house in order with a man like Mr. Strydom running the show.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Churches Support Desegregation: Pronouncements of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. and of the Protestant Episcopal Church calling for support of the Supreme Court's decision banning segregation in the public schools have been hailed by the NAACP as indications of the important role of the church in the fight against racial segregation.

Meeting in Greenwich, Connecticut, in December, the Episcopal church's national council unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon its various units to help promote "a wide, wholehearted and genuine realization" of the Court's ruling, which was termed "just, right and necessary."

Previously, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, holding its third biennial assembly in Boston, issued a declaration which, among other things, asserted that "it is the responsibility and opportunity of each local church to create the attitudes essential to carrying out this decision." The declaration "deplored all efforts to circumvent the Supreme Court decision" and called upon "all Christian churches to help make the transition from a segregated to a non-segregated society not only in the public schools but throughout the community, in such matters as housing and especially in the life and practice of the church itself."

At this assembly the Council elected Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the AME Church a vice president of the council and named him vice chairman of its executive committee. Congratulating Bishop Nichols on his election, Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, said: "In your new office you will be in a strategic position to give substantial aid to the Council in implementing its splendid declaration. . . . The church can be a vital force in awakening the conscience of America to the evil of racial discrimination and segregation. Your election to a top policy-making position in the Council gives us added assurance that every effort will be made to see that its declaration will be carried out."

Segregated System Doomed: This state, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina will "fail in their objective of preserving separate schools for Negroes and whites," it was forecast on December 12 at Columbus, Mississippi, by an NAACP national officer.

Addressing the NAACP's Southeast Regional Advisory Board, Gloster B. Current, the Association's director of branches, predicted a "weakened

financial condition" for the schools of any state attempting to circumvent the Supreme Court decision banning segregated schools.

Mr. Current asserted: "School systems which are financed through out-of-state bonds and long-term investments will find that these securities will be unmarketable throughout the nation.

"Georgia has already experienced difficulty in that its school revenue certificates offered for sale in Ohio have been declared ineligible investments."

He said Mississippi schools "are already in a weakened financial condition." Mr. Current noted that he referred to "amendments to state constitutions adopted in Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina and the amendment which was voted on in Mississippi on December 21, including the proposal of the Georgia Education Commission to preserve separate schools by special assignment of pupils, educational grants, prohibition of state and local funds to mixed schools, [and] creation of special attendance districts. . . ."

He urged southern citizens, school administrators and religious leaders "not to allow politicians and bigots to influence them to sacrifice their schools on the altar of race prejudice."

Pointing up the positive side of the southern public school situation, the NAACP official declared that "integration will work in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and other states in this region if the public officials, including the governors and members of the state legislatures . . . adopt law-abiding progressive attitudes" on the school issue.

"The majority of the citizens in the South are law-abiding," he maintained.

Integration is working successfully in the schools of several southern states, including Missouri, Maryland, West Viriginia and Delaware, he reported.

Commenting on the organization of so-called citizens' councils and "other hate groups" in Mississippi for the purpose of bringing economic and other forms of pressure upon Negro leaders, Mr. Current asserted that the NAACP "will use every legal means at its disposal to combat these tactics by bigots and others resorting to . . . frantic efforts to circumvent the Court's ruling."

He said the NAACP also "will continue to oppose" all state constitutional amendments designed to deprive Negroes of the ballot, in this state as well as others.

The Regional Advisory Board meeting was attended by NAACP state presidents and other officers from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina, representing 50,000 members in the area.

Protests Remake of Birth of a Nation: The proposal to remake the Ku Klux Klan film, "The Birth of a Nation," brought vigorous protests in December from the NAACP. In a telegram to Ted Thal, who reportedly heads the group sponsoring the revival, Roy Wilkins, administrator, urged

reconsideration of the proposal to make a new version of the Thomas Dixon novel which "slanders the entire Negro American population through its naked incitement to racial hatred and violence."

The NAACP, Mr. Wilkins said, "is as uncompromisingly opposed to this film today as it was when the picture was first released in 1915." The Association actively campaigned against the showing of the original version and succeeded in having it banned in many cities.

The text of the NAACP telegram follows:

Announcement of plan to revive the notorious Ku Klux Klan Film, "The Birth of a Nation," is cause for deep concern to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and others who know of the great damage the original version did in slandering the entire Negro American population through its naked incitement to racial hatred and violence. It is now more than seventy-five years since the period depicted in "The Clansman" on which the film is based, and forty years since the first film was released. The revival of the unashamed and undisguised racial animosities of that era in the middle of the twentieth century following two world wars and unparalleled progress in race relations can do little except to inflame the still uninformed.

"In the present climate of American and world opinion such a film in color and on wide screen would be a throwback. In the light of the May 17 decision of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases and its impact upon our country and the world, the new film version of this inflammatory novel cannot escape being regarded as an effort on the part of some group or groups to encourage the 1876 rather than the 1955 view of Negroes as American citizens and as a roadblock to the orderly and just attainment of rights. The NAACP is as uncompromisingly opposed to this film today as it was when the picture was first released in 1915. We accordingly urge you to reconsider your present proposal."

New Field Secretaries: The Association has appointed two new field secretaries to assist local branches to secure compliance with the Supreme Court decision banning segregated public schools.

The new staff members are Edwin C. Washington, Jr., of Dallas, Tex., and Medgar Evers of Mound Bayou, Miss. Mr. Washington will be assistant field secretary for the Southwest region, and Mr. Evers for the State of Mississippi. They will work under supervision of Gloster B. Current, director of branches.

The Southwest region of the NAACP comprises Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas, and maintains headquarteers in Dallas. Mr. Washington, who was associated with the Dallas NAACP branch and employed by the U.S. Post Office, attended Prairie View (Tex.) A and M College.

Mr. Evers, former agency director for the Magnolia Mutual Life Insurance company in Mound Bayou, Miss., is an alumnus of Alcorn (Miss.) A and M College.

Mr. Current pointed out that the appointment of Mr. Washington and Mr. Evers brings to a total of four the persons who recently have been employed by the NAACP to carry out a directive of the national Board of Directors calling for assistance to Association branches in "a greatly expanded program of community action to implement the Supreme Court's decision [on public schools] on the local level."

Other recent appointments to the NAACP staff were those of Charles W. Greenlea, assigned to the State of Geoorgia, and Madison S. Jones, assigned to general field work. The National Association now employs 12 field secretaries and three regional secretaries.

November Donations: The Association reported a total of $13,635.95 in contributions to its Fight for Freedom campaign during the month of November, 1954. The sum includes payments on life memberships.

The Fight for Freedom campaign seeks to speed up the organization's civil rights work to achieve full rights for minority groups in American life by Jan. 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

In addition to donations received from individuals and organizations, NAACP funds were enriched by contributions from 44 local branches of the Association, two state conferences and two youth councils. These contributions from NAACP units came to $5,814.45.

Aside from Association units, the largest single donation during November was sent by the Cornerstone Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., in the amount of $500. The next largest donation was that of Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Coolidge of Cambridge, Mass., who forwarded $250 to the Fight for Freedom campaign.

Other contributions come from Wilbur Halyard, Milwaukee, Wis., who has pledged $1,000 to the NAACP and who sent $100 for November; General Diaper Service, Inc., New York, Dr. William A. Thompson, Detroit, Mich., $50 each; and a number of individuals and organizations whose contributions of $25 or less totalled $261.50.

NAACP branch, state conference and youth council contributions to the national Fight for Freedom campaign for November included Kansas City, Mo., $1,356; Milwaukee, Wis., $750; Alabama State Conference of Branches, $500; Jamaica, N.Y., $450; Oklahoma City, Okla, Lafayette, La., and Wichita, Kans., $200; Saginaw, Mich., $134; Crossett, Ark., Crittenden County, Ark., Pine Bluff, Ark., Georgetown, S.C., and Media, Pa., $100 each; the Orange, N.J., youth council, $150.

Albuquerque, N.M., $145; Atlantic City, N.J., $102.70; Lake Village, Ark., $75; McCurtain, Okla., $73; Cotton Plant, Ark., $70; Kenosha, Wis., Seminole, Okla., Dermott, Ark., Little Rock, Ark., Enid, Okla, Williamsport, Pa., Oberlin, Ohio, and Thomasville, N.C., $50 each; Bronx, N.Y., $56.30; and the New Mexico State Conference of Branches, $48.81.

An additional 19 branches contributed amounts of $25 or less, totalling $402.99.

What the Branches Are Doing

INDUCTION OF BALTIMORE PANCAS—*Roy Wilkins (fifth from right, front row), national NAACP administrator, inducted Baltimore, Maryland, branch leaders into the national NAACP honorary campaign workers society, the Order of Pancas, when he spoke to the branch at Bethel AME church recently. This society is composed of workers who personally bring in 50 memberships or more in the annual membership campaigns of the Association.*

California: The WEST COAST launched its annual "Freedom Seal" drives in November as teams and committees of volunteer workers set out to raise more than $20,000 for the "Fight for Freedom Fund." Quotas for local branches range from $100 to $10,000, with the Los Angeles branch, the largest on the Coast, having the highest quota. Last year the West Coast Region reported more than $15,000 to the national office for Freedom Seals sold by the branches under its jurisdiction.

Delaware: President Rev. Randolph Fisher of the SUSSEX county branch worked closely with field secretary John Flamer in the Milford situation. The branch also filed petitions with local school boards in Seaford, Laurel, Frankford, Selbyville, Rehoboth, and Lewes requesting immediate desegregation of the public schools. These activities were supervised by June Shagaloff of the legal department field staff.

Miss Shagaloff also assisted the Smyrna, Dover, Harrington, and Frederica branches to file similar petitions with their school boards.

Negro students entered Dover high school for the first time and were

admitted without incident. Complete plans for desegregation of the Dover public schools have been submitted to the local board of education by the KENT county branch, together with the Booker T. Washington PTA unit.

The WILMINGTON branch filed petitions for desegregation in all major communities in New Castle county. Schools were desegregated in the following communities without incident: Wilmington, Newark, New Castle, Delaware City, Rose Hill-Minquavale, and the Conrad school district.

Michigan: The report of the executive committee of the DETROIT branch for November lists branch achievements in such areas as politics, civil rights, and housing, etc.

On civil rights, the report says that basically the problem is twofold. On the one hand there is the problem of securing effective police cooperation in the enforcement of the laws; on the other, there is the problem of undue prejudice by jurors, and sometimes judges, in the courts against Negroes who seek redress for these violations under the laws.

Minnesota: The MINNEAPOLIS branch is still asking for non-discriminatory clauses in the Glenwood Area Redevelopment Plan. The branch says that such clauses are necessary in order to safeguard the rights of many persons who may desire to live in the area or to operate businesses there.

Rev. Denzil Carty, president of the Minnesota state conference of the NAACP, was principal speaker at the November 21 meeting of the local branch.

New Jersey: The BERGEN county branch has been active in the elimination of segregation in the public elementary and junior high schools of local communities.

Ohio: "The caliber of our interracial college chapter participation and the enthusiasm of our youth council leaders made this our most successful statewide Ohio NAACP youth meeting in several years," commented Al Henderson, advisor to the Ohio State Confer-

TWO LIFE MEMBERS *of the Des Moines, Iowa, branch —Mrs. Frances Ashley (left), the second branch member to take out a life membership, and Ike Smalls, the first.*

SOME NAACP YOUTH ADVISORS *in the state of Michigan who were in attendance at a recent meeting of the Michigan state conference of NAACP branches. From left, Mrs. Pearl Baskerville, Kalamazoo, chairman state youth work committee; Mary Burge, Grand Rapids; Herbert L. Wright, youth secretary; Roberta Brown and Ruth Roberts, Lansing; and Mrs. Aldene Winburn, Grand Rapids.*

ence of NAACP Youth Councils and College Chapters, after the group's executive committee had an open session in CLEVELAND on November 15.

Thirty council, chapter, and state youth leaders from ten communities and campuses attended the Cleveland conclave and helped plan state youth conference activities for 1955. In addition, chairmen of three new standing committees of the state youth conference were selected by the executive group. They are Mark Belsey of the Oberlin college chapter, organization and membership; Anne Ruth Varner, Cleveland school teacher who represented the national NAACP youth division at the World Assembly of Youth in Singapore during the summer of 1954, education; and Sandra Mumford, Akron youth council, legislative and labor affairs.

State youth president Rebecca Currence, Canton, and vice-president Herman Templeton, Akron, shared the chairmanship of the executive session and reported that adult assistance played a large part in the success of the meeting. Gerard A. Anderson, Jr., executive secretary of the Cleveland branch, handled arrangements for the session and served as resource person. Paul Kline of the AFL-CIO civil rights committee staff and consultant for the group's "task force" on the forthcoming Ohio FEPC campaign. Virginia Allen, advisor to the Akron council, agreed to work with the new legislative and labor affairs committee.

Pennsylvania: The CHESTER branch has worked out a school desegregation program which may be summarized as follows:

Prior to September 1954 segregated elementary schools were maintained by assigning Negro students to the school in their district while permitting white

Cubia Dee's

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE—*This panel was in attendance at the emergency conference on school integration held in Philadelphia, Pa., November 26-27. This panel, which works with school boards on integregation, consists of (from left) Dr. Harry Greene, president Philadelphia branch; Spottswood Robinson, attorney for the Virginia state NAACP; Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, member D. C. board of education and consultant to NAACP legal department; Robert Carter, assistant special counsel NAACP; and Wagner Jackson, president Wilmington, Delaware, branch.*

students to attend schools outside their districts when living in predominantly Negro areas.

Between May and September 1954, branch officials held a series of meetings with local school officials on this matter, and afterwards the following changes were made:

Some white students were reassigned to schools in their districts, and they are now attending formerly all-Negro schools without incident. Negro teachers were assigned to an elementary school which formerly had an all-white faculty. And the Chester board of education has announced a policy of integration. These activities were carried out with the assistance of June Shagaloff of the NAACP legal staff and John Flamer, NAACP field secretery.

The PHILADELPHIA branch was cited twice in November for its outstanding services to the local community.

The first citation came from the Navy Department. Commander C. W. Cushman, officer in charge of the Philadelphia Navy Recruiting District, conveyed the Department's gratitude for the cooperation the local branch gave during the recent Navy recruiting drive. The branch had made available its two radio programs on two separate occasions to help stimulate the drive.

Second commendation came from the Yorkside Athletic Club, which has given full support to the branch program. Arthur Thomas, Sr., club secretary, informed the branch that his organization had recently completed its first professional bout and that the club was giving the branch a donation from the gate receipts.

New York: Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, dynamic Baltimore attorney, addressed the JAMAICA branch at a Fighting Fund for Freedom rally on November 15. Her topic was "No Giants in the Land." The rally was attended by over 250 people who enthusiastically received the challenge to greater activity from Mrs. Mitchell. Mrs. Mitchell outlined the struggle for equal rights in Baltimore and in other southern cities. In appealing for funds to help the NAACP continue its fight for freedom, Mrs. Mitchell stated that in the South, people not only give their money, but they often risk their lives.

More than $700 was collected or pledged for the fighting fund. Allen church, where the meeting was held, was the biggest contributor to the fund, giving $100.

Attorney Florence V. Lucas, president of the Jamaica branch, presided at the meeting. Miss Lucas stated that the Jamaica branch will continue to raise funds to support NAACP activities wherever there is a need, whether it be in Jamaica or in one of the southern cities.

Rev. Emmer H. Booker, pastor of the Allen AME church and chairman of the fight for freedom fund, introduced the speaker.

ABRAHAM EATON, *membership chairman of the Perth Amboy, N. J., branch brought in 87 members during the recent NAACP membership campaign.*

Rhode Island: The regular quarterly executive board meeting of the NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL CONFERENCE was held at Newport on September 19. Conference theme was "Freedom and Democracy Through Integration." The keynote address was given by NAACP board chairman, Dr. Channing Tobias. Walter White and Dr. Ralph Bunche addressed the Sunday afternoon mass meeting.

PARHAM DIES

Harvey E. Parham, president of the Missouri State Conference of NAACP branches, died at his home in St. Louis, Missouri, on November 9, 1954. He

L. Aldrich

HARRY HAZELWOOD *(right), chairman of the legal redress committee of the* Newark, N. J., *branch and Mayor Carlin of Newark crown Lola Walker as "Miss NAACP" of the Orange and Maplewood youth council. BOTTOM: Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell (second from left) of Baltimore receives a check for $100 from Mrs. Marion Smith from the Ladies Guild of Queen's County Youth Center. At right, Rev. Emma Booker, pastor Allen AME church, and Atty. Florence Lucas.*

was buried on November 12, 1954 in St. Louis.

The following eulogy on Mr. Parham was delivered, on behalf of the NAACP, by A. P. Marshall, president of the Missouri state conference of branches:

The name, Harvey E. Parham, is one that the Negro people of Missouri have learned to appreciate with great respect. It is not a glory that he sought but it is because he had become the symbol of all the hopes and aspirations of the downtrodden in Missouri. He stood for the liberty and equality of all people in the United States. He was ready to take whatever steps were in his power to alleviate any condition which he believed wrong. On more than one occasion he has gone to the remote parts of Missouri, taxing himself in strength and time, to give aid to those who needed him. He believed that no child should grow up in the midst of American liberty and not share in it. He believed that no Negro should stand aside simply because of the color of his skin. He was for equality of privilege, always standing firmly, fearing no one, basing his stand upon his firm belief in the fundamental dignity of the human being made in the image of God.

As a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a great part of his life, he was a supporter of its activities, sometimes leading, sometimes following, but always supporting the causes in which he believed. As a leader he inspired people to take action; his courage seemed to be contagious; he stood firmly in his convictions, and even those who did not agree with him respected him. He was the man upon whom many of the NAACP branches called to give them aid in time of trouble. His advice was free and he delighted in giving it. When advanced to the presidency of the State Conference of Branches, he did not let up in his interest, but gave more and more of his free time to the advancement of freedom and liberty of the Negro people. He became the central figure in cases where leadership was lacking; he played a background role where encouragement was necessary.

Educational committee of the Jersey City, N. J., branch of the NAACP.

Harvey Parham had grown in stature and respect by the national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. That office depended upon him to give guidance and strength to the NAACP program in Missouri. It depended upon him to forge a program within the state, and respected his judgment upon questionable issues. He was the person upon whom they depended when information was needed about the status of freedom and liberty in the state of Missouri. He had become a central figure at national headquarters, at regional meetings, and at the national conferences of NAACP leaders. He knew them as his friends, welded together into a unit of which he was a very important and necessary part. He will be missed by all of them as a man who never let them down.

In his own city of St. Louis, he had been associated with the NAACP for over 18 years. He was honored by that branch with its presidency, but was always ready to serve in whatever capacity his services were needed. Little by little the citizens of St. Louis learned to respect him for his determination to erase the inequalities which faced them. In St. Louis county, he was in the forefront of the battle for the full-fledged citizenship of the Negro. His life was lived fully and respectably.

As a God-fearing Christian man, he was often heard to extol the virtues of

(*Continued on page* 59)

Cubia Dee's

LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Bette Smith-Marshall (right), secretary of the Philadelphia, Pa., branch, is shown as she presented her initial payment of $125 toward her NAACP life membership. Receiving the subscription is Hanah Carner, member of the branch executive committee, while Dr. Harry Greene, branch president, looks on.*

Cubia Dee's

FASHION NOTES—*Planning for the fashion extravanganza which was held on December 13 for the benefit of the Philadelphia, Pa., branch are, from left, Ann Logan, Ruth Foster, chairman; Bette Jernigan, and William Lewis. Members not shown are Nellie Pegues and Joe Cronin. BOTTOM: Trenton, N. J., branch presents Mayor D. J. Connolly (left) with an NAACP membership. Others in the picture are Mrs. Audrey Woodson, chairman executive committee; Mrs. Gloria Gibson, and Dr. J. Minor Sullivan III, members of branch executive committee.*

College and School News

The 41st Annual Grand Conclave of the OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, held at Clark college, Atlanta, Georgia, featured a one-day workshop centered around the subject "America's Challenge: To Implement School Integration by Understanding and Treating Prejudice." Discussion leaders were Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse, Dr. Rufus Clement and Dr. William Boyd of Atlanta university, Dr. Margaret Butcher of Howard, and Robert Carter of the NAACP legal staff.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) observed National Education Week with an address on November 9 by Dr. William Earl Drake, head of the department of educational history and philosophy at the University of Missouri.

"What I Think of the Newspapers in My Town" is the subject of the fifth annual national scholastic essay contest scheduled by the Lincoln university school of journalism. Typed essays submitted in this contest are to be 1,000 words each, and the deadline is March 1, 1955.

The contest is open to any bona fide registrant in a high school anywhere in the United States, but each entry must be certified by the high school principal.

Mayron Crenshaw and Clayton Williams, members of the June, 1954, graduating class at the Lincoln school of law were among the successful candidates who passed the September Illinois bar examination.

■

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright of HUNTER COLLEGE, New York City, addressed the October meeting of the Mohawk Valley Branch of the American Association of University Women on the subject, "UNESCO —1954."

■

"The Effect of Segregation on the Peoples of the World" was the theme of an open forum sponsored by the social science division of ALBANY STATE COLLEGE on November 15. Guest speaker for the occasion was Dr. W. S. M. Banks, chairman of the social science department of Fort Valley State College.

Albany State has adopted a liberal policy with respect to the granting of student loans and the payment of registration fees at the beginning of each quarter. Under the new plan, needy but otherwise eligible students are permitted to pay part of their fees as a down payment and the balance in monthly installments.

■

The Rev. Livingstone Mzimba, Presbyterian minister from South Africa, was vesper speaker at BENNETT COLLEGE in November.

■

TWO TALLADEGA COLLEGE professors, Dr. John Bross and Dr. Donald Rasmussen, attended the planning

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committee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., at Atlanta on November 15.

The planning committee arranged for a southwide conference on compliance with the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools.

Founders' day at Talladega paid homage to the college's 100-year-old central building, Swayne Hall. Guest speaker was Dr. William Holloway, class of '99, of Columbus, Ohio. A pageant of 1854-67 was also enacted on Swayne balconies, with background music from the college choir.

Talladega has a new program of adult education designed to be of particular interest to teachers working in Talladega county.

William Gordon, managing editor of the *Atlanta Daily World*, delivered the last address in the Gamma Psi chapter's (Omegas) series of talks during annual achievement week.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) has embarked upon a "broad new program" of international education with the enrollment of overseas students representing six foreign countries. The new program is based on brotherhood, Dr. Bond explained, and is designed to make the university a "living laboratory" for international understanding.

The foreign students enrolled are Shing-Hwa Tsai of China, Horace Young of Venezuela, George Nemethy of Hungary, Uttamprakash Christian of India, Clifford Jones of the British West Indies, and Chul Young Cha of Korea.

Four recent graduates of the WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE (Philadelphia, Pa.) have been awarded partial scholarship grants by the school's alumni association. Those receiving the grants are Corrine Gilliam, a June 1954 graduate of the Edward Wyatt high school, Emporia, Va.; Thelma Wilson, a June 1953 graduate of the Bok Vocational; Levonia Jackson, a June 1954 graduate of William Penn high; and Jacqueline Walton, a June 1943 graduate of Girls High, Philadelphia.

■

Dean F. P. Payne of SHAW UNIVERSITY announces that eight Shaw students have been selected for inclusion in the 1954-55 edition of "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges."

Eighty-ninth founder's day was observed at the university on November 19, with Dr. Ruth Brett Quarles of Baltimore, Maryland, delivering the main address. Dr. Quarles, a native of Winton, N. C., is a Shaw graduate summa cum laude in the class of 1953. She received her M. A. degree at Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut, and her Ed. D. degree from Columbia university.

■

THE INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES FELLOWSHIP of New York City has just published the 20th book in its "Religion and Civilization Series," *New Horizons in Creative Thinking: A Survey and Forecast*, edited by R. M. MacIver, Lieber professor emeritus of political philosophy and sociology at

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Columbia university. There are thirteen contributors to the volume.

■

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY opened its natural science center for young people on November 25, Thanksgiving Day.

The center, located on the second floor of the Museum's School Service Building, is a place where young people may see, hear, touch, and better understand some of the wildlife and geology of New York City and vicinity. Under the supervision of a trained naturalist, young people will have an opportunity to study living animals, plants, and local rock and mineral specimens. When special equipment and resources for experimentation and research are available they will be added to the facilities of the center.

■

Charles J. Smith III, director of public relations and assistant professor of journalism at FLORIDA A AND M UNIVERSITY, will serve as director of the fifth annual FAM-U Interscholastic Press Workshop scheduled for January 28-30.

Smith, who joined the faculty and staff of A and M in 1950, has served as director of the four workshops held to date. The workshop series, which began in 1951, has been developed into one of the leading interscholastic projects in the southeast. Attendance has grown from 60 at the initial workshop to more than 130 at the 1954 gathering.

L. H. Spearman, assistant professor of education at the university, currently on leave attending the University of Michigan, was recently

appointed an assistant instructor at the Neurophychiatric Clinic at the Ann Arbor institution.

Sheldon Cole, head of the industrial arts department, is the author of an article, "Development of the Loom," in the November 1954 issue of *Industrial Arts and Vocational Education* magazine.

Major Walter Linton, of the Florida A and M ROTC unit, has announced that the campus ROTC received an over-all rating of superior on its technical inspection.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY has received a grant of federal money which will be used for an expanded program in vocational rehabilitation in its school of social work. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare is contributing $8,300 toward the $12,450 budget for the period from November 1, 1954, to June 30, 1955. This grant is the first of its kind made to a school of social work.

Two members of the university faculty — Dr. Thomas Jarret and Frankie Adams—have articles published in current periodicals. Dr. Jarrett wrote the lead article for the November issue of *College English*, official organ of the National Council of Teachers of English, on "Recent Fiction by Negroes." Miss Adams reviewed Campbell Murphy's *Community Organization Practice* in the November issue of *Newsletter*, official publication of the Association for the Study of Community Organizations.

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for Negroes, and the integration of Negro business into the aggregate economy were subjects discussed at a seminar held on November 12 for ten students from Colgate university and the graduate students in business administration at Atlanta university.

On November 9 Archibald Campbell, colonial attache at the British Embassy in Washington, discussed British colonial policies at the Atlanta Arts and Sciences Forum. Aim of British policy in Africa, he said, is to bring the territories forward to self-government with a rising standard of living and freedom from aggression.

The Atlanta-Spelman-Morehouse Players presented Charles Morgan's "The Burning Glass" in Giles Hall, on the Spelman campus, November 22-23.

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According to a recent release from the dean's office, fifty-seven MOREHOUSE COLLEGE students made the dean's list or honor roll for the first semester of the current school year on work done during the second semester of the academic year 1953-54.

By classes, the present honor roll lists 26 freshmen (now sophomore), 19 sophomores (now juniors), and 12 juniors (now seniors). To qualify for the honor roll, a student must carry a minimum of 12 semester hours and maintain an average of B or above with no grade below C.

■

President Albert W. Dent of DILLARD UNIVERSITY announced the breaking of ground for a chapel on November 23. The building will be of masonry and steel and will match the other campus buildings in color and style. Total cost is estimated at approximately $525,000.

■

The changes in the status of Negroes in New York City during the past twenty years was the theme of the sixth annual UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND symposium held in the Hunter college auditorium on November 30. Buell Gallagher, president of City College, was moderator; Elmer Carter, commissioner of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, were symposium speakers; Ernest Angell, chairman Civil Liberties Union, Mrs. Elinore Herrick, of the editorial staff of the Herald Tribune, and Madison Jones, field secretary of the NAACP, were the panel participants.

The UNCF received a donation of $10,000 from the International Paper Company Foundation in November. The donation was presented by W. A. Hanway, president of the paper company, to Dr. David Jones, president of Bennett college, who accepted it on behalf of F. D. Paterson, president of the UNCF.

■

MARYLAND STATE COLLEGE (Princess Anne) featured a call to colors by its ROTC as part of its homecoming day festivities in November.

■

The largest movement of Negro students from segregated high schools in the South to non-segregated colleges—in the South as well as in the North — ever to take place in any one year was reported by the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS, New York City. This increase for the 1953-54 academic year, which was 180 percent higher than the all-time high set the previous year, is the highlight of an interim report on the first year's results of a two-year South-wide "talent search" which was undertaken by the NSSFNS on a $170,000 grant from the Ford

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The talent search, aimed at uncovering qualified Negro college candidates, also produced statistical affirmation of the recent Supreme Court ruling that a "separate" school system was not inherently an "equal" system. These statistics disclosed that only half of the top ten percent of the senior classes in the 81 highest ranking high schools in the South possessed minimum college qualifications. The standard used was a version of the generally accepted College Entrance Examination Board Scholastic Aptitude Test.

Tests were given to 1,485 students, selected by principals and counsellors as constituting the top ten percent of their senior classes. Of this group, less than half, an alarmingly small percentage, attained minimum scores for college admission and scholarship aid. Of the 737 who qualified, 399 indicated their desire to go to an interracial college; 207 actually completed applications; 197 were accepted and 191 finally enrolled this fall.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING—*Some of the new students at Lincoln University (Pa.) are shown as points of interest on the campus are pointed out to them by James Prentice, president of the Student Senate. Looking on are Dr. Horace Mann Bond, extreme left, and Dr. Paul Kuehner, extreme right, registrar and adviser to overseas students.*

Book Reviews

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Civil Liberties and the Vinson Court. **By C. Herman Pritchett. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954. XI + 297pp. $5.00.**

This volume describes the state of civil liberties today, since the Vinson Court has given distinctive form and substance to the law in this area, and it has not yet changed under the Warren Court. The author's conclusion is that except for the field of racial discrimination the record of the Vinson Court is generally anti-libertarian. In the area of race discrimination he concludes that the record "reveals a progressively developing boldness."

The volume examines free speech, loyalty, the rights of citizenship, racial discrimination, and the administration of criminal justice. It analyzes the position of the individual justices on these issues and classifies their holdings in a number of categories for purposes of characterizing them as pro or anti-libertarian, and as members of different blocs on the court. An effort is made to isolate some of the motivating factors, particularly to see what weight some of the justices have given to state autonomy under our federal system when ruling against claimer rights.

To these ends, tables have been employed, which link justices who have concurred with one another in non-unanimous decisions, which classify them according to whether they have ruled for or against the party claiming a liberty, and which further classify this latter group as to whether the claim was granted or rejected in a case from federal or state courts. Scholars have debated whether such tables accurately relate the positions of the justices, and many have been hostile to the use of such "box-scores." Although the author favors them, if they are properly employed, he cites the opposition, including Mark DeWolfe Howe and an editorial from the *Washington Post* which stated: "We hope that Mr. Howe's exposé of this shallow thinking about the judicial process will hasten the relegation of box scores to the sports page—where they belong." It seems to this reviewer that the value of such box scores depends upon the purpose to which they are to be put. To a lawyer with a specific case they would appear to be of little value.

However, for the layman, or the political scientist who desires to have an impression of the Court's political or philosophical complexion, or perhaps for the legislator or President who may be concerned over a new appointment and its effect on the Court's balance, these box scores provide a shorthand, general idea of who's who, who his friends are, and the general movement of political theory on the Court.

The book concludes with a plea that the Supreme Court undertake to assert more authority in civil liberty cases than it did under Vinson. The Court's reluctance to do so, founded upon a

desire not to frustrate majority will, is attacked as an abdication of its function. For, the author argues, where minorities are restrained in their fundamental rights, the majority will must be set aside if our form of government is to be preserved. However, civil liberty should not be defended in a doctrinare manner, he urges, because persistent failure to recognize competing claims in situations where individual liberty is at stake results in a loss of power to negotiate for one's position. Where to give way becomes the real problem. The author's answer is not specific, but he would apparently give way more than Justices Black and Douglas and stand fast more than the Vinson majority.

JACK GREENBERG

JACK GREENBERG *is assistant counsel of the NAACP.*

***Famous American Negroes.* By Langston Hughes. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1954. XI+147pp. $2.75.**

A collection of short biographies of famous Negroes is coming to require considerably more careful selection of names than used to be the case. A few years ago, it was likely that any such work would include Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Mary McLeod Bethune, Walter White, and W. E. B. DuBois. Half of these names are omitted from the present volume, but how many more have been added! Richard Allen, Daniel Hale Williams, and Charles C. Spaulding are likely to be new to many readers who are as ignorant of Negro history as is the average American; and the inclusion of such varied living persons as W. C. Handy, A. Philip Randolph, Ralph J. Bunche, Marian Anderson, and Jackie Robinson emphasizes that not all greatness is in the past.

It is, of course, inevitable that many of the same people will be included in this work that have been written about many times before. However, the seventeen chosen—some limits had to be drawn, obviously—are taken from such wide areas as religion, poetry, medicine, art, the theater, music, statesmanship, sports, journalism, academic life, and science. The young people for whom this book is intended, many of whom will be reading about Negroes for the first time, cannot fail to be impressed by the way in which they all overcame economic and social obstacles to achieve greatness.

A good many grownups will profit by using *Famous American Negroes* to refresh their minds and add some fascinating details to their earlier knowledge. Langston Hughes has written a very readable, human group of biographies which make warm flesh-and-blood people out of what might easily have remained shadowy figures in history books.

MABEL M. SMYTHE

***This New World: The Civilization of Latin America.* By William Lytle Schurz. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1954. 429pp. $6.00.**

A well-written, common-sense account of how Latin America came to be by one of America's leading experts on this part of the world. Dr. Schurz begins with the environment found by the Spaniards—which Cortés says was much like that of Spain—and the Portuguese—which they said was much like the Africa they had been exploring. He then covers the subsequent history by examining the people who went into the melting pot of present-day Latin America.

First are the Indians in all their amazing variety from peaceful Arawaks to bellicose Araucanians, and from barbaric Botocudos to civilized Quechuas and Aztecs; the Spaniards, both as *Españoles* and conquerors; the Negro and the foreigner, Italians, English,

French, German, Irish; then woman, Indian and European; and the church and the city. The last chapter is on the Brazilians.

On Negro influence Dr. Schurz writes:

"Except for those who were influenced by the 'racial' philosophy of the Comte de Gobineau, few Latin Americans of our time have questioned the net worth of the Negro as an ingredient in the national society of their countries."

"Nowhere else," he says, "save in the western end of Hispaniola, did the Negro influence so profoundly the shape of civilization as in northern Brazil." Yet, he adds, "Brazil is not a paradise for people of color."

A valuable and tremendously informative book which every American interested in his South American neighbors should read.

BRANCH NEWS

(*Continued from page* 47)

a strong belief in the Heavenly Father. He seemed to gain strength from his firm beliefs and from his prayers. The world is a better place because Harvey E. Parham lived in it. The Lord has called him to rest but his name will continue to mean freedom and opportunity to people all over the state of Missouri. Though his body has gone to rest, the soul of Harvey Parham still lives in our midst, serving to inspire, to encourage others to take up where he has left off, to continue this struggle towards freedom.

GOLD COAST

(*Continued from page* 16)

All parties mobilized their resources to win as many seats as possible. Some of the opposition parties amalgamated in order to form a "united front" against the C.P.P. But Dr. Nkrumah may again returned to office. His party had already won the majority of seats in the three recent municipal elections for the Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi-Sekondi Town Councils.

June 15 was an historic day in the Gold Coast bloodless revolution.

HOW TO DESEGREGATE

(*Continued from page* 9)

possible, against any school board in the state which does not act in good

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faith. What legal action we have taken has been against a school board, in the new infamous "Milford incident," which expelled certain Negro students who had been legally admitted to a previously "white' school by their immediate predecessors. And, while we fell short of Mr. Marshall's standard of making them answer to a court within twenty-four hours, we did bring them before the bar within three days. If there were any skeptics among them who questioned our intent and ability to do this, they have now been effectively silenced.

These, then, are some of the considerations which seem basic, to me, in this matter of working with school boards to implement racial integration in public education. There is one other; that is, the satisfaction you get out of doing a difficult job well. I am convinced that there is at this moment in our racial and national history—and, probably, in our brief individual lives — no more important task.

Let me tell you, in conclusion, of my "sure cure for the blues," which must at some time, at least privately and temporarily, effect all of us who are serious about our responsibilities. It is this: driving slowly past a recently integrated school, preferably an elementary school, during a time when the children are on the playground . . . and seeing there the end of an era better forgotten, and the beginning of a world which you and I may never fully experience, but which must, of necessity, be infinitely better. A world which, perhaps, in some small way, we shall have helped bring about. There is no other experience quite like it.

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 30)

(closed number) to the liberal professions and school children.

In any case, the only relations between the European and Muslem groups is professional. In 1937 one could point out on the fingers of the hand a college teacher who would walk out in daylight with Muselmens.

A European woman would be disgraced if she were seen in the street with an Arab man. And contrary to what was taking place in Tunisia and Morocco at the same time it was extremely rare for a European family to receive a Muselman at their dinner table.

There was a time, not too long ago, when the Algerian people wanted to be integrated into the French community (there are probably few now), but the French in Algeria opposed such integration. . . . Now the Algerians want independence, not French citizenship. . . . If we are going to call Algeria French, we must not treat Muslem Frenchmen like Muselmen when it is a question of their rights and like Frenchmen when it is a question of their duties. . . .

This is not a detailed report, but a tentative explanation, and it explains as much as can be explained by that sociological phenomenon called colonialism, which is itself a complex of the ruling minority. Disturbed by the growth of the Muselman population, the French *colons* now feel their power and authority threatened. Really, one cannot overestimate the harm racism in Algeria has done to France, and ultimately to the *colons* themselves.

Where are we French at the present? After all that has happened in Algeria, it is a miracle if there is any chance of bringing about a real intergrated French and Muselman community in the country.

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